

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 152653  
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FOR POL/LEIFERT FROM PA/PRESS-TRATTNER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS, R.)

SUBJECT: TOPAFRICA MAGAZINE: ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT TO  
TO SECRETARY

1. FOLLOWING ARE REPLIES TO QUESTIONS PUT TO THE SECRETARY  
IN WRITING BY MME LUCIENNE HUBERT-RODIER OF TOPAFRICA MAGA-  
ZINE DURING HER RECENT VISIT TO THE U.S. FYI ONLY, THESE  
ANSWERS WERE DRAFTED BY VARIOUS BUREAUS OF DEPARTMENT AND  
CLEARED APPROPRIATELY, AND THEY CAN BE PRESENTED TO MME  
HUBERT-RODIER AS ANSWERS BY THE SECRETARY. END FYI.  
WE UNDERSTAND FROM HER THAT SHE HAS CONTACTED LEIFERT AT  
EMBASSY AND TOLD HIM TO EXPECT ANSWERS FROM DEPARTMENT BY  
CABLE. APPRECIATE YOUR TRANSMITTING THEM TO HER AS SOON  
AS POSSIBLE. WHEN INTERVIEW APPEARS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE  
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PAGE 02 STATE 152653

RECEIVING TEXT.

2. BEGIN QUESTION-AND-ANSWER TEXT. QUOTE

Q: WHY SHOULD WE BE NEGOTIATING WITH THE RUSSIANS WHEN  
THEY ARE PROMOTING INSTABILITY IN AFRICA AND IN OTHER  
AREAS OF THE WORLD?

A: THE BASIC TEST FOR SALT IS WHETHER IT PROMOTES OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY AND THAT OF OUR ALLIES. THIS AGREEMENT WOULD MEET THAT TEST. TO ABANDON SALT BECAUSE OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE WOULD BE CONTRARY TO OUR OWN SELF-INTEREST.

PROCEEDING WITH A SALT II AGREEMENT THAT SERVES OUR SECURITY INTERESTS IN NO WAY LESSENS OUR DETERMINATION TO OPPOSE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE. WE ARE PREPARED TO BE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE ABILITY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO PRESERVE THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY AND TO RESIST OUTSIDE INTERVENTION--THROUGH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BY HELPING THEM TO MEET THEIR LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS AND THROUGH AN ACTIVE DIPLOMACY TO RESOLVE THE UNDERLYING DISPUTES THAT ARE A BREEDING GROUND FOR OUTSIDE EXPLOITATION.

A SALT AGREEMENT WILL NOT ALTER THE FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIETS; IT HAS BEEN AND IS LIKELY TO REMAIN LARGELY COMPETITIVE. BUT SALT IS TOO IMPORTANT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY TO BE USED AS A REWARD FOR SOVIET "GOOD BEHAVIOR".

3. Q: NOW THAT THE SALT II NEGOTIATIONS ARE DRAWING TO A CLOSE, WHAT CONSEQUENCE MIGHT THEY HAVE FOR EUROPE, WHICH UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 152653

IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRINCIPLE OF PARITY BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA? ARE YOU AWARE OF ITS DANGERS FOR WESTERN DEFENSE AND HOW DO YOU INTEND TO DEAL WITH THEM?

A: WE DO NOT ACCEPT YOUR PREMISE THAT SALT II ENDANGERS WESTERN DEFENSE. IT WILL NOT ONLY MAINTAIN THE STRATEGIC BALANCE BUT WILL SPARE THE RISKS AND EXPENSE OF A DANGEROUS ARMS RACE. WE AND OUR ALLIES IN NATO WILL THUS BE ABLE TO BETTER DEVOTE OUR ATTENTION AND RESOURCES TO OUR THEATER NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL DEFENSES IN EUROPE.

THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, AND OUR RESPECTIVE ALLIES IN EUROPE ALL UNDERSTAND THAT AN ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE MUST, NECESSARILY, GIRD ANY SALT AGREEMENT IF WE EXPECT IT TO ENDURE. AMERICA'S ALLIES IN EUROPE, WHO HAVE BEEN CONSULTED REGULARLY DURING THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE ENDORSED THE POSITIONS WE HAVE TAKEN. THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT OVER THE PRINCIPLE OF ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE.

THE PROBLEM FACED BY THE SALT NEGOTIATORS IS TO SPECIFY JUST WHAT WILL PROVIDE FOR A STABLE, VERIFIABLE EQUIVALENCE

NOW, AND FOR THE FUTURE. SOVIET AND AMERICAN STRATEGIC FORCES ARE NOT IDENTICAL. WE HAVE DIFFERENT WEAPONS WITH DIFFERENT CAPABILITIES, BORN OF DIFFERENT HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES AND FOSTERED BY DIFFERENT DOCTRINES. BUT WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR AN OVERALL BALANCE. WE ALSO HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT OUR CAPABILITY TO INFLICT A DEVASTATING BLOW TO THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD THEY THREATEN ANY CRITICAL INTEREST SUCH AS THE SECURITY OF OUR NATO ALLIES. STRATEGIC PARITY DOES NOT CHANGE THE BASIC FEATURE OF OUR DETERRENT.

4. Q: WITH REFERENCE TO THE TALKS HELD AT THE RECENT NATO SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON, IT SEEMS THAT THE NEED TO ASSURE WESTERN SECURITY IS LEADING TO A NEW ARMS BUILDUP. HOW UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 152653

DO YOU RECONCILE THIS REQUIREMENT, WHICH CAN ONLY MEAN THAT MILITARY SPENDING WILL BE A GREATER DRAIN ON THE ECONOMICS OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED, WITH THE DISARMAMENT OBJECTIVES WHICH THE CURRENT SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS ENDEAVORING TO DEFINE?

A: BOTH THE NATO ALLIANCE AND THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT ADDRESS FUNDAMENTAL SECURITY ISSUES. THE DECISION TO SEEK INCREASED DEFENSE EXPENDITURES TAKEN AT THE RECENT NATO SUMMIT WAS IN RESPONSE TO THE BUILDUP IN WARSAW PACT MILITARY STRENGTH THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN RECENT YEARS. NATO IS A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AND IS TAKING MEASURES TO MAINTAIN ITS SECURITY.

WE BELIEVE THAT DISARMAMENT EFFORTS MUST ALSO MAINTAIN THE SECURITY OF STATES. WE HAVE ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT AND SUPPORT EFFORTS THAT MAINTAIN THE SECURITY OF ALL STATES AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND OF ARMS EXPENDITURES. THUS I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANY CONFLICT BETWEEN THE US POSITION AT THE NATO SUMMIT AND AT THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT.

AT THE SAME TIME, NATO HAS TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN EUROPEAN ARMS CONTROL, SPECIFICALLY WITH THE RECENT WESTERN INITIATIVES AT THE VIENNA TALKS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS.

5. Q: DO YOU BELIEVE THAT IN YOUR TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND MESSRS. DAYAN AND WEIZMAN YOU SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING ISRAEL THAT THERE CAN BE NO DURABLE PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST WITHOUT A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM? IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT MIGHT THAT SOLUTION BE?

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 152653

A: I THINK MOST ISRAELIS ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED FOR A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. ALL OF THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED THAT THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IS ONE OF THE CORE ISSUES OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT. THE DIFFICULTY IS THAT THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THOSE PARTIES ON WHAT A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION WOULD BE. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT HAVE A DETAILED SOLUTION OF ITS OWN--THIS MUST BE ACHIEVED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. WE DO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT ANY SOLUTION MUST RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND ENABLE THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR OWN FUTURE. THE PALESTINIANS ON THE OTHER HAND, MUST ALSO ACCEPT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES. THE PRECISE TERMS FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE STATUS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA MUST BE THE RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES, BUT AS WE HAVE SAID IN THE PAST, OUR OWN BELIEF IS THAT THE RESULTING ENTITY SHOULD BE LINKED TO JORDAN.

6. Q: THE FRENCH-AMERICAN STATEMENT ISSUED FOLLOWING THE RECENT WHITE HOUSE WORKING DINNER BETWEEN PRESIDENTS CARTER AND GISCARD D'ESTAING REFERS TO A CONCERTED ACTION WITH THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO PROMOTE SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA. WHAT TYPE OF SUPPORT DOES THE UNITED STATES INTEND TO PROVIDE TO THAT CONTINENT, IN ALL AREAS, IN ORDER TO RESTORE TRUST IN THOSE AFRICANS KNOWN AS MODERATES WHO ARE PRO-WEST, DESPITE THE MANY RESTRICTIONS THAT CONGRESS MIGHT IMPOSE?

A: THIS SUBJECT WAS ADDRESSED DURING THE JUNE 5 MEETING IN PARIS BY FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES, GERMANY THE UNITED KINGDOM AND BELGIUM. A USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ENSUED. AT THAT MEETING THE AMERICAN DELEGATION WAS CONCERNED ONLY WITH THE LEGITIMATE PROBLEMS IN ZAIRE AND MADE NO COMMITMENTS IN REGARD TO THE BROADER QUESTION OF AN AFRICAN

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 152653

SECURITY FORCE.

THE U.S. HAS A LONG TRADITION OF SUPPORT FOR MODERATE AFRICAN STATES. THE THRUST OF OUR ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. DURING THE PERIOD OF 1970-76, WE PROVIDED OVER DOLS 20 BILLION IN DIRECT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. BY WAY OF COM-

PARISON, THE SOVIETS PROVIDED DOLS 200 MILLION FOR THE SAME PERIOD. IN FY 1979, OUR ADMINISTRATION IS ASKING CONGRESS FOR DOLS 294 MILLION IN BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT AID FOR AFRICA; DOLS 25 MILLION FOR THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND; AND DOLS 45 MILLION FOR SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE. WHILE WE SEEK TO AVOID REGIONAL MILITARY COMPETITION, WE ARE READY TO CONSIDER AFRICAN REQUESTS THAT WE HELP MEET THEIR LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS. THUS, ALTHOUGH OUR EMPHASIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS ALSO AN ELEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH MODERATE AFRICAN STATES. IN PROVIDING THIS ASSISTANCE WE ARE GOVERNED BY THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE THAT AFRICAN PROBLEMS ARE BEST RESOLVED BY AFRICANS. AS IN THE CASE OF ZAIRE, THERE ARE INSTANCES WHERE WE WILL BE WILLING TO WORK WITH OUR WESTERN ALLIES TO RESPOND TO SPECIFIC REQUESTS FROM AFRICAN STATES. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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